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# THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF JUMANO

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*Jumano is a frequent designation in Spanish and French historical sources dealing with the aboriginal inhabitants of northern Mexico, New Mexico, and Texas, between the late sixteenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries. There is little agreement about the identity of the Jumano; among the several linguistic affiliations proposed are Uto-Aztecan (Sauer 1934) and Athapaskan (Forbes 1959). One widely accepted position (Scholes and Mera 1940) maintains that the term was simply a general designation for Indians who were rayados—i. e., who practiced facial painting or tattooing. This paper reviews the historical evidence for intelligibility relationships involving Jumano and concludes that it was a division of the Tiwan subfamily of Tanoan, probably most closely affiliated with Piro. The ubiquity of references to the Jumano is explained by the active involvement of a segment of this population in interareal trade.*

ONE OF THE MOST COMMON—yet mysterious and elusive—of the names applied to Native Americans in the historic Southwest is “Jumano.” From the time of the first *entradas*, many references were made to Jumanos, who were encountered by the Spanish conquerors in areas of present-day New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona and in adjacent regions of northern Mexico (Figure 1). The first known appearance of the name is its application, in reports of the Espejo expedition of 1582, to the residents of villages located near La Junta de los Rios (the confluence of the Rio Conchos and the Rio Grande) and also to Indians found in camps and *rancherías* in the country between these rivers and the Rio Pecos. A decade later the chronicles of the Oñate expedition also described contacts with Jumanos living in the southeastern Tompiro pueblos of New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande; in addition, a party of Oñate’s men encountered Indians in central Arizona who were identified as Jumanos.

Besides these four locales, which encompass a very broad geographical area, many later references to Jumanos occur from eastern and southern Texas—areas where Spanish missionary and military expeditions penetrated only toward the end of the seventeenth century. Around this time mounted Jumanos traveled far and wide over trade routes which linked the Rio Grande valley and points hundreds of miles to the east, as far as the villages of the Tejas or Hasinai confederacy. By the mid-eighteenth century, “Jumano” was also a frequent designation for a group located on the Arkansas River, later assumed to be a division of the Wichita. After this time, only a few, scattered references to the name were made, both in the La Junta area and in Texas; the last is perhaps Adolph Bandelier’s (1984:54) mention in 1890 of a Tewa Indian who remembered a childhood encounter with the “Humanesh.”

“Jumano” is actually a standardized form of a name which occurs in many variants (Humana, Xumana, Umame, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Most references come from Spanish sources, since the Spaniards of both Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico had frequent dealings with these people; indeed, the Spaniards apparently met

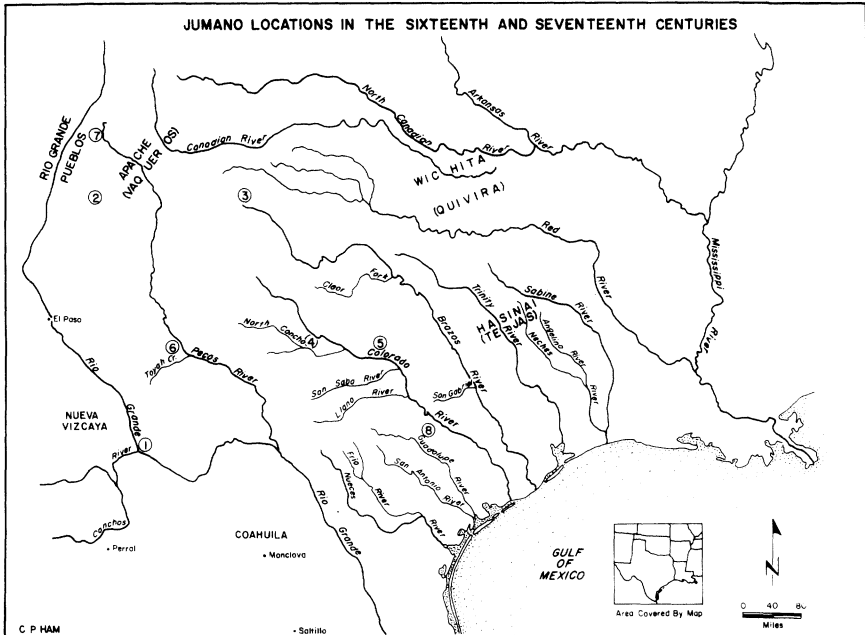


FIGURE 1.

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|---|--|
| 1. La Junta de los Rios                     | 5. Colorado River ("Rio San Clemente") |
| 2. Tompiro Pueblos<br>Salines of New Mexico | 6. Pecos River, Toyah Creek            |
| 3. High Plains encampment of 1629           | 7. Pecos Pueblo                        |
| 4. Concho River ("Rio Nueces")              | 8. Guadalupe River camp of 1691        |

Jumanos in almost every area into which they penetrated north and east of La Junta de los Rios. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, French sources also record their presence in eastern Texas as "Chouman." English or Anglo-American references to the Jumano are few, historically late, and apply almost entirely to the Arkansas River group.

Discussions of the Jumano in anthropological and historical literature usually treat them as a "mystery" or a "problem." A part of the mystery is the apparent breadth of reference of the term. The Jumanos were perceived by the Spaniards as a single *nación*, a term which may be loosely translated as either "nation" or "tribe." It has never been clear whether the many, geographically diffuse occurrences of the name constitute references to what was, in any real sense, a single ethnic group. It has also been suggested that "Jumano" may have been—like "Chichimeco"—a broader, generic designation based on some selected cultural, physical, and/or linguistic characteristics. Attempts to resolve the "Jumano problem" have confronted the necessity, first, of finding a rationale in the widespread and scattered occurrences of the name in time and space and, second, of identifying the Jumanos in terms of established ethnic and linguistic classifications.

### THE "JUMANO PROBLEM"

The baseline for modern research on the Jumano is Hodge's historical study (1911). Working with a more restricted body of primary sources than later researchers, Hodge attempted to understand the scattered geographical references to Jumanos which he found in the early Spanish sources as embodying the periodic movements and relocations of a single tribe of nomads.

Hodge was the first scholar to identify the "Cow Nation" of west Texas, visited by Cabeza de Vaca in 1536, with the Jumanos of the Espejo entrada and other early accounts. He believed that this tribe, located in the early sources at or near La Junta de los Rios, had migrated to New Mexico by 1598, when Jumanos were found to be living in or near the Tompiro pueblos. By 1629, when Fray Salas and other missionaries who were stationed in the eastern pueblos visited a Jumano encampment in the plains some 112 leagues (perhaps 250 miles) to the east of New Mexico, the tribe had moved again, Hodge reasoned. After Salas's visit, they evidently followed him back to the Tompiro pueblos in New Mexico. Arguing that the Jumanos would not live in a "village other than their own," Hodge (1911:251) concluded that the "great pueblo of the Xumanos" in the Tompiro area mentioned in the Spanish sources (Ayer 1900:285) must have been "an aggregation of dwellings of the more or less temporary kind which they were found to occupy when visited by Cabeza de Vaca and by Espejo on the lower Rio Grande." From this location he believed that the tribe again shifted back to the plains when the missionaries temporarily suspended work among them in 1631. The second recorded visit of Salas, in 1634, to Jumano rancherías on the Rio Nueces (again east of New Mexico, but south of their earlier location) was made "apparently for the purpose of bringing them back" (Hodge 1911:258).

Hodge made very free interpretation of the locales and distances given in his sources, locating the Jumano settlements in the plains—from the time of Salas's visits up to that of Martin and Castillo in 1650—in the vicinity of El Cuartelejo, an area in western Kansas; however, in each case the original sources indicate locations either due east or southeast of New Mexico. Hodge was apparently guided in his interpretation by a desire to establish a lineal connection between the Jumanos and the Caddoan-speaking tribes of Kansas and Oklahoma, known from later sources. He suggested that the Jumano tribe divided after 1650, some of them locating in Texas (where they were found by expeditions out of New Mexico in 1654 and 1683), while others remained further north, becoming allied with the Pawnees and French. Since the Arkansas River "Panipiquets . . . alias Jumanes" of the nineteenth century could be identified with the Tawehash or Taovayas (Wichita), Hodge (1911:268) believed that he could project the identification back in time to the Jumanos mentioned in sixteenth-century sources: "Their custom of tattooing, the character of their houses, and their semi-agricultural mode of life during the century they were first known, suggest relationship, if not identification with the Wichita

people." Thus, the Jumano of the lower Rio Grande were claimed as ancestors of the modern Wichita: the term "Jumano," "originating in Chihuahua and New Mexico, passed into Texas, but seems to have been gradually replaced by the name 'Tawehash,' which in turn was superseded by 'Wichita.'" The apparent disappearance of the Jumano, then, was "simply a matter of changing nomenclature" (Hodge 1911:268).

Hodge's interpretation of Jumano history was originally inspired by entries on the Tawehash and other Wichita groups which the historian Herbert Bolton submitted for inclusion in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907–1910), of which Hodge was editor. At about the same time, Bolton did further research in the archives of Mexico and in 1911 responded with an article which also focuses on the "mystery" of Jumano identity and on their whereabouts during and after the end of the seventeenth century.

Bolton disagreed with Hodge's conclusion that the "Rio Nueces," on which the Jumanos were situated in 1634 and 1650, could be identified as the Arkansas. His careful analysis of the itineraries of the several Spanish expeditions to the "Nueces" between these dates and 1684 established the identity of this river as the Concho, and its confluent (the "San Clemente") as the Colorado of Texas. With a larger data base, Bolton was also able to correct Hodge's impression that the Jumanos had completely disappeared from their earlier territories by the beginning of the eighteenth century; he cited manuscript sources which indicated the presence, after this date, of Jumanos living together with Tobosos near the Rio Grande and also, allied with Apaches, near San Antonio.

An important part of the "Jumano problem" for Bolton was an evident shift in Jumano loyalties: until Spanish missionaries left Texas in 1693, the Jumanos were allies of Spain and implacable enemies of the Apaches, but when Spain reclaimed the territory in 1716, the Jumanos and Apaches there had become allied. After this date Spanish sources began to refer to "Apaches Jumanes," indicating that to some observers the Jumanos were considered a division of the Apaches. When the Tawehash and Apache were at war in 1771, according to Bolton (1911:84), "people called Jumano" were apparently on both sides of the conflict. Thus, at least in these later years, the name clearly did not apply to a unitary group or tribe.

Although Bolton expressed no opinion about Jumano linguistic classification, his exposition made Hodge's position less tenable. It would seem doubtful that the Rio Grande Jumanos of 1582 could be direct ancestors of the nineteenth-century Caddoan Wichitas.

The geographer Carl Sauer entered the discussion of the "Jumano problem" through an essay on "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico" (1934). Sauer directed his attention to the southern fringes of Jumano distribution, the area around La Junta and the lower Rio Grande. He presented evidence for cultural continuity between the Jumano and the Suma, the latter a people of wide distribution through northern Chihuahua and Sonora: "I do not think that there was any clear difference between

Jumano and Suma. The latter name was generally applied at the west, the former at the east. The Jumano included large sedentary colonies and nomad bands, the Suma were primarily wanderers. The name ranges through the following forms: Humano, Jumano, Jumana, Xumana, Chouman (French), Zumana, Zuma, Suma, Yuma" (Sauer 1934:68). Sumas were almost as widely dispersed as Jumanos, ranging west into Sonora and as far south as Casas Grandes. Sauer believed that Suma groups which were located upstream on the Rio Conchos in the sixteenth century moved, in the seventeenth, into areas on both sides of the Rio Grande, replacing the Jumano "Otomoacas" and "Caguates" encountered by the earlier entradas.

Sauer assigned the Suma-Jumanos and their neighbors, the Conchos, to different divisions of the great Uto-Aztec language stock. The Concho were aligned with the Pima and Opata, while the Suma-Jumano were set apart as "the northeasternmost lot of the North Mexican Uto-Aztec peoples" (Sauer 1934:68).

In a joint publication, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," Scholes and Mera assessed the state of Jumano studies to 1940; they acknowledged the contributions of Hodge, Bolton, and Sauer and brought new historical and archaeological information to bear on the issues. Mera's contribution dealt with the archaeology of the Salines area of New Mexico, with special reference to the identification of the Jumano pueblos there. Scholes's paper proposed a solution to the problem of Jumano identity which has since been widely accepted. Observing that in some Spanish sources (specifically, the chronicles of the Oñate expedition) the term "Jumano" was sometimes applied to people who were also described as "*rayados*" (i. e., painted or tattooed people), Scholes (1940:275) concluded that "in the early colonial period the name Jumano was used . . . to designate all *indios rayados*."

As Scholes indicated, this sense of the term would have made it applicable to a large number of tribes, since decoration of the face and/or body was a widespread—indeed, almost universal—practice; the trick would be to distinguish between such generic "Jumanos" and an original group or groups which would have been the source of the name. However, Scholes presented only two examples to illustrate his point, and the argument, in retrospect, does not seem convincing. In fact, "Jumano" is not a term which was universally applied, as Scholes seems to suggest, to any and all painted and tattooed peoples; its use was much more selective. The explanation that several groups, separated in time and space, were called by this name simply because all of them practiced face or body painting may beg the question and may even have served to divert attention from the discovery of more specific and more meaningful historical connections linking these groups.<sup>2</sup>

The second, longer section of Scholes's paper (1940:276–85) deals with the Jumano pueblos in the Salines region of New Mexico in the period between the Oñate conquest and the abandonment of this area in roughly 1672. Drawing on his extensive research in colonial New Mexican church history, Scholes demonstrated that Jumanos were present as a substantial minority population

in this predominantly Piro (or "TOMPIRO") area. The Jumanos resided in three or four villages, one of which, larger than the others, was "Las Humanas" or the "great pueblo of the Xumanas." The area was repeatedly stressed by drought and crop failures and by the threat of damage and destruction from Apache raiding. Scholes (1940:284) documented the progressive abandonment of the Tompiro area after 1650 and the removal of the native population, with most of the Jumanos being resettled at the newly established Manso mission near El Paso.

Finally, Scholes included documentary evidence confirming Sauer's assessment of a close relationship or identity between Suma and Jumano. Although he did not attempt to resolve the question of Jumano linguistic affiliation, Scholes rejected Hodge's Caddoan theory outright and also appears to have been wary of Sauer's classification of Suma-Jumano as Uto-Aztecan. His observations on the apparent mutual intelligibility between Tompiros and Jumanos are evidence for a possible Tanoan affiliation of Jumano, a possibility which seems not to have received serious consideration by other scholars. Scholes (1940:285) went so far as to suggest that the "linguistic phase of the problem should . . . be carefully explored, especially with reference to current speculation about the wider connections of Tanoan."

Using both ethnohistorical and archaeological data, Kelley's study (1986, but first published in 1947) tentatively accepted Sauer's identification of the La Junta population, whom Kelley calls "Patarabueyes," as Uto-Aztecan. However, Kelley did not consider this population to be Jumano; his "Jumanos" are the plains-dwelling population. On the basis of material remains, he suggested that a relationship existed between the two groups; he was uncertain about the nature of the relationship and about the linguistic affiliation of the plains group, suggesting Caddoan, Tonkawan, Athapaskan, and Coahuiltecan, as well as Uto-Aztecan. Strangely enough, even though Kelley's work was apparently inspired in part by that of Scholes and Mera, he did not mention a possible linkage of the Jumanos to Tanoan.

The last anthropologist to deal with Jumano identity and linguistic affiliation is Forbes, whose main research interest has been Apache history. Forbes (1959:144) argued that the Jumano and a number of others in "a belt of tribes extending from the area of southeastern Arizona to eastern Texas" were Athapaskan in language: "The evidence examined . . . has led to the classification of the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Cholomes, Jumanos, Cibolos, and Pelones in the Athabaskan family. The Conchos, Tobosos, and Julimes have been placed with some skepticism in the Uto-Aztecan family while the Chinarras, Chisos, and central Coahuilla tribes have been classified as unidentified." Using ethnohistorical sources, Forbes based his argument on evidence for mutual intelligibility of speech between bands and tribes and also on indications of the existence of alliances, kinship links, and other types of sociopolitical connections.

A number of Forbes's sources do strongly indicate language ties among the Jumanos and Sumas, Cholomes, Cibolos, and Mansos, and he made a convincing

case to counter Sauer's classification of this Jumano bloc as Uto-Aztec. For example, he quoted primary sources which indicate that a sharp linguistic break occurred at La Junta, where the speech of the "Otomoaqa-Caguata peoples"—Jumanos—was different from, and unintelligible to, their Concho and Abriache neighbors up the Rio Conchos, who can be identified as Uto-Aztecs. But Forbes went beyond the limits of his data in linking these Jumano groups with Athapaskan; here his case rests almost entirely on cultural considerations and political alliances. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Sumas, Julimes, and many other weak or dying tribes in northern Mexico and Texas doubtless did become increasingly affiliated with various divisions of the stronger and more numerous Apache and were more or less absorbed as a matter of political necessity. Indeed, as Forbes demonstrated, some of these groups did eventually come to be regarded as Apache bands, and in the process they lost their cultural autonomy. It would seem likely that they became linguistically assimilated as well; but such an occurrence tells us nothing about their original linguistic affiliation, and Forbes presented no persuasive evidence, in the form of information about intelligibility, to support his claim of Jumano affiliation with Athapaskan.

### JUMANO AND TANOAN

As we have just seen, most attempts to classify Suma-Jumano linguistically have been based almost exclusively on cultural considerations. Hodge's linkage of Jumano and Caddoan was based, in the first instance, on nomenclature and was supported by cultural considerations of a very general sort—house types, subsistence practices, and the "custom of tattooing." Sauer considered the Jumanos to be sedentary to semisedentary farmers, those living in the buffalo plains having "drifted away" from the river-valley settlements; accordingly, he classified them as Uto-Aztecs, in part because of geographical contiguity to members of that grouping and also because of what he saw as overall cultural similarity to Pimas, Opatas, Tarahumaras, and other Uto-Aztec desert farmers. Forbes noted that Jumanos and Apaches were sometimes geographically contiguous and that, in some cases, a chronological continuity could be traced when Apache bands were found to occupy territories formerly held by Jumanos. He thus saw historic Jumanos, especially the mounted Plains Jumanos of the late seventeenth century, as culturally, and thus linguistically, similar to the Apaches.

The linguistic evidence for a connection between Jumano and Tanoan, noted by Scholes, has received little consideration, even though I believe that it objectively provides a stronger case for Jumano linguistic affiliation than the cultural considerations so often heavily relied on. One of the first scholars to suggest a connection between Jumano, Piro, and Tanoan was the Mexican linguist Francisco Pimentel. Pimentel's 1862–1865 classification of Indian languages (cited by Harrington 1909) listed the languages of New Mexico in five groups, three of which correspond to the Tanoan stock; one of these includes



Taos, Picuris, Piro, and Suma (which should imply the inclusion of Jumano as well). The classification of Orozco y Berra (1864) also listed Piro as the language of both the Sumas and Piros.

John P. Harrington, examining the few available lexical materials from Piro, concluded that this language should be considered a part of the Tiwa division of the Tanoan stock. Noting that his findings confirmed Pimentel's classification, Harrington (1909:593) concluded that "Pimentel's grouping 'Thaos o Piro' is doubtless based on *old and trustworthy* information" (Harrington's emphasis). Further, in a footnote to this statement, he added that "Pimentel's classification of the unrecorded and extinct language of the Suma as belonging to the same group is perhaps as reliable."

Another effort, generally overlooked, to deal with some aspects of this problem was that of Swanton (1942). Eschewing all of the broader linguistic connections which others had suggested for Jumano, Swanton (1942:324–25) accepted only the closest and most obvious and identified a "Shuman" stock—a language isolate comprising only the Sumas (as the western division) and the Jumanos (as the eastern). He assigned Piro (including Tompiro) to Tanoan and did not suggest any linkage between this stock and Shuman. He also made no mention of the use by Hodge and others of "Jumano" in connection with the Tawehash tribe of the Wichita and assigns Wichita, as one might expect, to the Caddoan family. However, Swanton did make several comments which suggest that he saw the possibility of a historical link between Wichita, Tanoan, and/or "Shuman." For one thing, he suggested that some of the early nomenclature applied to the Tawehash—including the name of a subgroup called *tiwa*:—might reflect a Tiwa (Tanoan) connection. In addition, he reported a folk etymology which derived the name of the Waco (another division of the Wichita) from "Wehiko" (Mexico) and speculated that this group might be "descendants of the Shuman tribe" who merged with the Tawakoni and Wichita (Swanton 1942:303–5).

## JUMANO INTELLIGIBILITY RELATIONSHIPS

Statements indicating similarity or mutual intelligibility which would support an assignment of Jumano to Tanoan are not numerous; however, the evidence is significantly more substantial than that for any other suggested affiliation.

### *The La Junta–Pueblo Continuum*

When Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions were among the Jumano Cibolos, east of the Rio Grande and north of La Junta, in 1536, they learned that the country of that group extended further upstream for about fifty leagues. Desiring to go on toward Mexico, the Spaniards inquired about the location of "clothed people" who farmed and lived in towns; the Jumano Cibolos told them about two such groups, those to the west (Opatas, Yaquis, etc.) and those living seventeen days' travel to the north (the Rio

Grande pueblos). On the road to the latter, according to the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, were "people who were their [the Jumano Cibolos'] enemies, although speaking the same language" (F. Bandelier 1905:126). According to the Joint Report of the expedition, this maize area "was the closer one, and all the people on the way to it were friends and of the same language" (F. Bandelier 1905:251). The Spaniards did travel upstream to the point (near Rincon, N.M.) where they forded the Rio Grande in order to take the trail to the west which followed the Gila River (Hallenbeck 1940). On the way north, they "always slept in houses and with people who gave them many robes of cowhide, as well as other things," just as they had been told (F. Bandelier 1905:251).

Thus the break in population which later Spanish expeditions found between the Mansos (in the El Paso–Las Cruces area) and the first Piro pueblos (near Socorro, N.M.) appears to have been less marked, or possibly did not exist, at this earlier time. Further, whether or not friendly relations prevailed throughout, no major language break is suggested north of La Junta and south of the Piros.

### *La Junta and the Plains*

The northward route via La Junta de los Rios and the lower Rio Grande was traveled by the exploring parties led by Fray Augustin Rodriguez and by Antonio de Espejo, in 1581 and 1582 respectively. Since the chroniclers of these expeditions, as well as other visitors who followed them, often used completely different terminology to refer to places and native groups, correlating their information is difficult, and scholars disagree about interpretation of these sources. The Lujan journal of the Espejo expedition is usually considered the most reliable source, partly because it includes a detailed, day-by-day itinerary and, in addition, because Lujan was assisted by a remarkable translator, a young boy named Pedro who had been taken from the La Junta area some years earlier by a slaving expedition and who had been raised in Lujan's household. The group designations and information about intelligibility relations which come, indirectly, from this source make Lujan's account of special importance as it relates to this area.

Both the Rodriguez and Espejo expeditions followed the Rio Conchos north and noted linguistic breaks between the several tribes along it and between these tribes and the La Junta inhabitants, as Forbes has pointed out. When the expeditions approached the river's mouth, each encountered a farming people, the Cabri or Abriaches (thought to be the later Julimes). Near La Junta the expeditions met people often termed "Patarabueyes." However, according to Espejo, the name "Patarabueyes" applied to the villagers in this vicinity was coined by slave hunters during earlier visits; thus it may not be a term relatable to cultural or linguistic groupings. Indeed, after leaving the Abriaches, Lujan used "Otomoaca" as the most inclusive term for the villages near La Junta and also for the more scattered small communities found for some distance up the Rio Grande. Espejo called these people "Jumanos," as did Obregón in his history of the discovery of New Mexico (Bolton 1916:172).

Five Otomoaca villages were situated at or near the confluence of the Rio Conchos and Rio Grande, and these were visited during a stay of eight days by members of the Espejo party. The inhabitants were initially hostile, probably because of their earlier contacts with slavers, but they were pacified by gifts made to their caciques and by the reassurances of the boy translator, Pedro.

From La Junta the Espejo party moved north, following the Rio Grande through settled areas for a distance estimated at around 65–70 leagues (perhaps 150 miles). Throughout this territory, Lujan identified the native people either as Otomoacas or as similar to, intermarried with, or related to Otomoacas. According to Espejo, “the banks of the river for a distance of twelve days’ travel, are settled with people of this [Jumano] nation” (Bolton 1916:173). The three major divisions of this people, from south to north, were those which Lujan called Otomoacas, Caguates (“intermarried with the Otomoacas and have almost the same language”), and Tanpachos (“people of the same blood and type as the Otomoacas, and of the same dress, except that the men tie their privy parts with a small ribbon”) (Hammond and Rey 1966:168–69). Located in marshlands near El Paso, the Tanpachos have been identified with the later Mansos (Sauer 1934:66).

Throughout the Jumano country along the Rio Grande, the Espejo party was able to communicate and maintain amicable relationships with the assistance of the translator Pedro, whose uncle—called Juan Cantor by the Spaniards—had been translator for the earlier Rodriguez expedition and “was known by all the others in the party” (Hammond and Rey 1966:162). Juan Cantor’s home was in the La Junta Otomoaca village which the Spaniards called San Bernardino, while Pedro’s (maternal?) grandfather, called Guaxi, was a cacique among the Caguates—evidence for Lujan’s statement that the two “nations” were intermarried.

Beyond El Paso the Espejo party crossed a barren stretch of roughly eighty leagues and went on to explore the populated areas to the north. At many of the pueblos they had been preceded not only by the Rodriguez expedition of 1581, but also by the Coronado entrada forty years earlier, not to mention several smaller official and unofficial exploring parties. Some of these explorers spent time in the buffalo plains, usually reached by way of Pecos Pueblo, and had repeated encounters with nomadic natives there; however, exact identification of specific ethnic groups is usually impossible.

The narratives of the Espejo expedition (Hammond and Rey 1966:209–11) deserve special note in this regard because of their identification of natives in this area as Jumanos. Espejo and his party visited Pecos, the most eastern of the pueblos, and followed the Pecos River southward, intending to continue along that route in order to reach the Rio Grande and La Junta. After spending almost a month on this trail (120 leagues by Espejo’s calculation), they came upon three natives who were recognized as being “of the Jumano nation.” The Spaniards were able to communicate with these Indians through the “Patarabueye” interpreter, Pedro. They were informed that the juncture of the Pecos

with the Rio Grande was far downstream from La Junta and were directed to a shortcut. The Jumanos took the party “by good trails” an estimated forty leagues to their destination; on the way they stopped at a Jumano ranchería (probably, as Kelley [1986:14] suggests, the “Jediondo” settlement on Toyah Creek), where they were entertained with music and dancing, and they passed several other small Jumano camps before arriving at La Junta. According to Lujan, these Jumanos “in their clothing, appearance, and habitat are similar to the Pataragueys [*sic*].”

Thus the Espejo chronicles provide good evidence that the inhabitants of the La Junta area had close linguistic and cultural connections with people dwelling further up the Rio Grande and in the southern plains. They indicate that Jumanos hunted in the valley of the Pecos in the early historic period, that they inhabited the country between that river and the Rio Grande, and that linguistic and cultural continuity existed between these plains groups and the farming population at La Junta.

### *Jumano and Suma*

Most authorities have acknowledged a close relationship or even an identity between Jumano and Suma. As Sauer (1934:68) has noted, “Suma” has usually been applied to groups ranging west of the Rio Grande as far as northern Sonora, “Jumano” to those ranging to the east. In the 1680s the Rio Grande between La Junta and El Paso was inhabited by small settlements of Sumas (noted by the Lopez–Dominguez de Mendoza expedition of 1684 [Bolton 1916:322–23]), whereas Lujan had referred to Caguates and Otomoacas (Jumanos) in this region. It is not clear whether these people were the same basic population identified by different names or whether, as Sauer suggested, the Sumas had migrated into these areas, replacing the earlier “Jumano” groups. The nomenclature of individual groups ranges through a wide variety of similar forms, and thus the identification of references as Jumano or Suma has at times been arbitrary and perhaps influenced to a degree by geographical location.

However that may be, Scholes quotes and comments on an incident which attests to the linguistic relationship between Suma and Jumano. In 1682 a Jumano who had been taken prisoner by Plains Apaches was with his captors as they met and traded with Western Apaches and Sumas near Casas Grandes, the western extreme of the Suma range. At this meeting—which Spanish soldiers witnessed and recounted to an official who made a report to Governor Otermin—the Jumano, “overhearing some Sumas, whose language has a close connection to his own, took refuge with them” (Scholes and Mera 1940:287–88; also Forbes 1959:139). As Scholes remarks, the incident proves nothing about the affiliation of Jumano or Suma with Uto-Aztecan or any other language family; it does, however, confirm a degree of mutual intelligibility between people inhabiting the eastern and western extremes of the large expanse of territory spanned by Jumano and Suma.

*Jumano and Piro*

Scholes has also summarized most of the available information on the Jumanos whose presence in the southeastern Tompiro pueblos was noted by Oñate in 1598 and who left that area by the 1670s. As we have seen, Hodge (1911) interpreted the Spanish references as indicating the presence of a nomadic encampment in the plains east of New Mexico. However, Jumanos no doubt did live in these pueblos along with the Tompiro population, from whom they could be distinguished by the Spaniards because they were rayados—painted or tattooed people (Scholes and Mera 1940:285).<sup>3</sup>

Several documents from the Oñate period (1598–1610) refer to pueblos of the Jumanos located in the area of salt marshes beyond the Manzano Mountains of New Mexico (Bolton 1916:215, 225, 234). The three in this Salines area that are mentioned by name are Patoce (Pataotzei, Patuotzey), Genouey (Genobey, Xenopue), and Cueloce (Quellotezei, Quelotzey). Cueloce was the largest of the three and probably was the community often referred to as the “great pueblo,” “Humanas Pueblo,” or “Las Humanas”; in 1634, Benavides estimated the population of this pueblo at around three thousand (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:66). Another large pueblo mentioned in later sources as a Jumano community was Tabirá; both of these large villages were located on the eastern margins of the New Mexican Pueblo area.

The Oñate records refer to the language of the Tompiro pueblos as Atzigui, indicating that it was very similar, if not identical, to that of the Piros (Tzigui or Atzigue) (Scholes and Mera 1940:277). No mention is made of any language or dialect unique to the Jumanos, no indication is given of any linguistic difference between Piros, Tompiros, and Jumanos, and no hint is dropped of problems in communication between these groups. Indeed, seventeenth-century New Mexican colonial records mention that “the pueblo of Humanas always uses singers from the [Tompiro] pueblo of Abo, they being all of the same nation as the Humanos” (Hackett 1937:143), and that public announcements in Humanas Pueblo were made in Spanish by the *alcalde mayor* and translated into Tompiro for “all the Indians of the pueblo, who were gathered together in the plaza,” by “an Indian named Andres who knew Spanish” (Hackett 1937:159). Further, mention is made of a certain Fray Garcia de San Francisco, who in 1660 was described as the “only religious who knows and preaches in the Piro language, the language of the Indians of the pueblo of El Socorro and of the pueblos of Senecu, El Alamillo, and Sevilleta; he can also make himself understood by the Indians of the pueblos of Umanes, Abo, and Tabirá. . . .” (Hackett 1937:163). Schroeder (1964:249), after a detailed examination of these and other documentary materials, concluded that all of the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains spoke the same language and dialect, “a variation of the Piro tongue called Tompiro.”

The Jumano population in New Mexico evidently increased, at least temporarily, after 1629 when Frays Salas and Lopez brought several hundred refugees from the plains to be resettled near Quarac (Vetancurt 1960, vol. 3:261, 279). In fact, more movement probably had always occurred between plains and pueblos than the records indicate, since the Jumano enclave in the

Tompiro area evidently served as a liaison between the nomadic hunters and traders of the plains and the sedentary farmers of the pueblos. After 1630, however, the Plains Jumanos began to retreat southward, and by the 1660s, if not earlier, Apaches were trading at Las Humanas and Tabirá (Hackett 1937:142). At about the same time, Apache raiding became a serious problem along the exposed eastern flank of New Mexico. The outlying villages were among the first to be abandoned, and the Jumano pueblos were entirely depopulated several years before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. When the evacuation of the Salines area began, many of the Jumanos and Tompiros appear to have settled with the recently missionized Mansos at El Paso, a choice which may reflect cultural and linguistic compatibility of the groups involved (Scholes and Mera 1940:284). At this time and later, following the revolt of 1680, Piro settled there as well.

The original linguistic affiliations of the El Paso area refugees are difficult to reconstruct. Investigators two hundred years later failed to find any linguistic differences among the descendants of these various peoples; indeed, all had become rather thoroughly hispanicized. Nevertheless, a short vocabulary of Piro was collected by Bartlett near El Paso in 1850 and published with an introduction by Hodge in 1909. In the same year the vocabulary was analyzed by Harrington, with comparisons to languages of the three Pueblo branches of the Tanoan stock. As noted above, Harrington concluded that Piro should be classed with Tiwa. Harrington himself went to El Paso, but he was unable to find anyone with a speaking knowledge of the language among the few surviving Piro families. Harrington (1909:569) also "could obtain no satisfactory information . . . about the Suma." However, he was told by several individuals that Isleta (Tiwa) was "cuasi la misma idioma" as Piro.

A general conclusion from the above discussion is that significant linguistic divisions probably did not exist between Piro (including Tompiro), Jumano, and Suma. Some of the evidence may suggest dialect variation, as would be expected in a language of such wide distribution; but nothing suggests a real break in intelligibility. As indicated by Harrington, the language classification of Piro (Tompiro), Jumano, and Suma should provisionally be the Tanoan language family, the Tiwa subfamily.

### TIME PERSPECTIVE

Proceeding from the distribution and relationships of languages and peoples seen in the early historic period, one may speculate about the situation as it existed a relatively short time earlier, i.e., before the establishment of Athapaskan dominance in the southern plains. As suggested by Hyde (1959), Harrington (1940), and others (e.g., Perry 1979), Apaches, having separated from their Athapaskan congeners in the north by perhaps A.D. 1000, appear to have moved to the south and to have entered the plains of New Mexico and western Texas only a century or two before the Spanish Conquest. In the early historic period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a progressive southern expansion of these Apaches at the expense of the Jumanos and other indigenous

peoples can be followed, and the direction and momentum of this expansion can be projected back to earlier times.

At an estimated date of A.D. 1300, Tanoan would have been a large and widely distributed language stock, bounded by Uto-Aztecan, Tonkawan, Coahuiltecan, and Caddoan, and perhaps also by Athapaskan in the north. Tiwa was apparently the most extended division of Tanoan, being represented by "Puebloid" settlements (Kelley's "Patarabueyes," Espejo's "Jumanos," and Lujan's "Caguates and Otomoacas") along the lower Rio Grande as far as La Junta de los Rios or beyond and by semisedentary hunter-gatherers and horticulturalists ("Sumas") west of the river. Tanoan-speaking hunting bands (Kelley's "Jumanos") resembling the historic Jumano Cibolos inhabited the plains east of the Rio Grande. These latter two groups probably wintered at the villages of their sedentary kinsmen, and thus a mutual dependency between Tanoan farmers and hunters likely antedates historic mounted nomadism, although the range and productivity of the hunters increased in postcontact times.

As the plains of eastern New Mexico and western Texas are accessible by several major river systems, they were probably the scene of relatively stable intertribal contacts and trade between Tanoans, Caddoans, and other groups prior to the Apache invasion. The precontact Jumano trade system provided both the network and the carriers for this circulation of goods among the Tanoans and their neighbors. Thus, both the historic Tanoan pueblos on and near the Rio Grande and the Tanoan Kiowa of the southern plains are to be seen as remnants of a much more extensive distribution of Tanoan peoples in prehistoric and early historic times.

### THE MEANING OF "JUMANO"

"Jumano," as the Spaniards used the term earliest and in its broadest sense, would have been the general designation for the Tiwa-speaking population of the Rio Grande, Pecos and Colorado river drainage areas south and east of New Mexico. These people were identified by a combination of characteristics, including speech, clothing, facial markings, and perhaps other cultural traits.

In a more restricted sense, which would have applied especially to groups or individuals encountered outside of this primary area of provenience (in Arizona, among the Piro, and with the Hasinai and other Texas tribes), "Jumanos" were traders. In this role, the Jumanos were not only middlemen, carriers of goods, and agents of diffusion between native groups; they also became intermediaries between Spain and the tribes east of New Mexico and played an active role as "culture brokers" in the acculturative process in relation to these tribes (c.f. Kelley 1955).

### NOTES

1. Jumano is the form accepted by the Bureau of American Ethnology and adopted by Hodge for the *Handbook of Indians North of Mexico* (1907-1910). For some of the numerous forms recorded, see Sauer (1934).

2. This criticism is not meant to detract from Scholes's substantial contribution in formulating the "Jumano problem" or to deny him credit for a useful and ingenious suggestion toward its solution; it might be more appropriate to criticize those who have accepted the suggestion uncritically.

3. Their distinctive facial markings ("*rayas*") are a frequently noted Jumano feature. It is not clear whether they were produced by tattooing, painting, scarification, or some combination of methods. According to a description obtained by A. Bandelier (1984:54) in 1890, the Jumanos were "rather tall and with incisions and punctures on the face, which incisions were covered over with paint." This nineteenth-century statement may or may not be accurate for the Jumanos of two centuries earlier.

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